Vol. VII. No. 15
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY, ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1919

"Mother, What is a League of Nations?"

"Oh, Just a Bunch of MEN"

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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Notes of the Week

Wilson Continues Recognizing Women

THE Conference of Women's Suffrage Societies of the Allied Countries, meeting in Paris reports that President Wilson has agreed to move at the Peace Conference a proposal that a special commission of the congress be established to consider women's international questions and that there should sit with it a commission chosen by the suffrage societies and other women's organizations. This arrangement looks to us suspiciously like the former recognition President Wilson has given to women; appoint women on some sort of committee or board entirely unconnected with the committee or board which is really handling important affairs, tell the women that they are to serve in an advisory capacity and then never take their advice and give them no way in which to enforce their own recommendations.

Tennessee and Presidential Suffrage

THE lower house of the Tennessee legislature has passed a presidential and municipal suffrage bill by a vote of 54 to 32. One of the supporters of the measure telegraphed Senator Shields as follows:

"As a member of the House of Representatives, I have introduced a bill granting presidential and municipal suffrage to women. As your opposition to the federal suffrage amendment is understood to be based upon the ground that suffrage for women is a state matter, may we depend upon you to give this measure your endorsement and active support, to the end that Tennessee may take this favorable step and at the same time, in a small way, repay the women of our state for their unselfish and patriotic service to our country during the recent world war?"

No statement is given of the answer received from the Senator. Did he really mean that he wished the enfranchisement of women if it could come state by state? Requests like this one give him a chance to prove his sincerity.

Women in India

THE Christian Science Monitor reports on the condition of women in India:

"At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council of Bombay a resolution was passed, after some discussion, for the removal of the disqualifications which debar women from election to serve on the Municipal Corporation. With a view to arousing women's interest in public matters, a course of lectures is being given in Bombay. Lady Willingdon, wife of the Governor, took the chair at the first of these, which was on the subject of 'The Bombay Municipality; Its Construction and Duties'"

Women on County Councils

EIGHT of the fourteen women candidates for the London County Council have been elected. They are: Miss Margaret McMillan, Miss N. Adler, Lady Trustram Eve, Mrs. Eve Hopkins, the Duchess of Marlborough, Mrs. Hudson Lyall, Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Miss A. Susan Lawrence. Mrs. How Martyn was elected to the Middlesex Council. She ran her campaign on the most economical lines and came out at the head of the poll.

'Bus Conductors in London

WOMEN in England who took the place of men as 'bus conductors in London are being dismissed to make room for men just as women street car conductors have been dismissed in this country. In spite of the decision of the War Labor Board to the contrary, the women conductors in Cleveland have been dismissed for no reason except that they are women. In London three hundred women have received notices of their dismissal.

The number of women who took the places of men in England is estimated at 1,200,000. The greatest number of these workers were employed in industry. The number of women employed in banks increased from 1,500 in July, 1914, to 37,600 at the end of the war.

Request for Women on Bourse

A REQUEST has been made by the Committee of the Democratic Party in Hamburg, Germany, that women be given the privilege of trading on the floor of the stock exchange. The request is based upon the equality which already exists between men and women in Germany in politics and professions.

Woman on Harvard Faculty

A WOMAN has been appointed on the faculty of Harvard University for the first time. Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, Chicago, will lecture in the medical school on industrial diseases on which subject she has specialized for many years.

Domestic Servants Organize

IN Canada women servants are organizing a trade union. A meeting was held in Toronto to form the union which will demand for servants an eight hour day with a minimum wage of fifteen dollars a week, or thirty dollars a month for servants living in the house of their employers. Further demands made were for extra pay for overtime and a demand that wages be paid weekly. It is but another indication of the signs of the times that women domestic workers who have worked so long under the poorest of conditions and the lowest pay, are demanding improvements in their working conditions.

Progress in Vermont

THE Vermont legislature has defeated the full suffrage bill providing for a referendum to the voters. Both houses, however, have passed the presidential suffrage bill over the veto of the Governor.

Women Demand Action on Workers' Legislation

THE Woman's Joint Legislative Conference of New York is continuing its efforts to spur the New York Legislature to action on bills designed for the protection of women in industry, and one of the late developments of their campaign is the demand for the discharge of the Labor and Industries Committee, if it does not report the bills. This demand was made in an open letter to the Assembly after Speaker Sweet tacitly admitted his responsibility for an attempt to strangle the bills, according to Miss Mary E. Dreier, Chairman of the conference Committee. In the letter addressed to the Assembly, it is said:

"It has been stated by one in authority among your body that many members of the assembly have requested that these bills should remain in committee in order that the assembly might not be confronted by the necessity of voting upon them. The inference is not a pleasant one. We trust this statement is unfounded and that your right to use your judgment upon important legislation is being withheld from you by the small group who form the Labor and Industries Committee, perhaps at the direction of a single leader."

The proposed bills provide for health insurance, the eight hour day, minimum wage, and the protection of women office, transportation and elevator workers, and were carefully considered and weighed before adopted by the various women's organizations which have united under the Woman's Joint Legislative Conference and are conducting an educational and political campaign in their behalf.

Women's Vote Heavy in Nebraska

NEARLY forty per cent of the votes cast at the municipal elections in Nebraska were by women voting for the first time, and in several cases exceeded the men's vote, and was the determining factor in the larger cities in the election of candidates pledged to law enforcement.

A Forecast of the New Congress

THE statements from members of the new Congress continue to come in to Headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington. The poll is now practically complete, and while it still points to "the Eastern strip" as the weakest spot in the country, speaking from a suffrage standpoint, still, the general outlook is one over which workers for the federal amendment may be deservedly encouraged. The forecast which this poll allows us to make of the possibilities for suffrage in the new Sixty-sixth Congress shows a very marked and material gain over the general situation in the last Congress.

A few of the statements which Congressmen have been sending in, defining their position on the question of the federal suffrage amendment, follow:

Nebraska: William E. Andrews, Republican, says that he cast the first ballot for suffrage in his state, and that he will undoubtedly vote yes at his earliest opportunity in Washington.

North Dakota: J. J. Sinclair states his position as strongly in favor of the amendment and says: "In spreading the gospel of world democracy, let us have real democracy in the United States."

Ohio: C. J. Thompson, Republican, declares "sex disqualification should be removed throughout the nation. The purest, the most intelligent, and the most unselfish members of the body politic should be endowed with as potent a voice in the conduct of public affairs as is possessed by the ignorant and the vicious." Jas. T. Begg, Republican, says "Notwithstanding any position I may have previously held, the women of the world have shown their willingness to undergo the hardships and sufferings, and have demonstrated their wisdom from every point. I shall therefore, if given the opportunity, vote for the amendment."

Texas: Lucien W. Parrish, Democrat, says "For many years I have been in favor of woman suffrage, and the splendid part that women have played in this terrible world war has confirmed me in my conviction that she is entitled to the ballot upon equal privileges with men."

Washington: J. Stanley says "In my campaign for Congress I announced that I was heartily in favor of National woman suffrage, and I shall be pleased to assist the cause in all proper ways."

Many more similar statements from other states have come to National Woman's Party Headquarters.

IT is interesting to observe the complexion of the new Congress, so far as the poll is at present able to reveal it.

California, Colorado, Arizona, Montana, North Dakota, New Mexico, Arkansas, Nevada, South Dakota, Minnesota, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Wyoming, Washington, Illinois, Oklahoma, are the Western states which are sending full suffrage delegations to both houses of Congress this next session. Rhode Island has the distinction of being the only state of the Eastern Atlantic group which is solidly for suffrage in both Houses. Idaho, on the contrary, is the only state in the Western group which is not solidly for suffrage in both Houses—Senator Borah proving the only obstacle there.

Delaware, Maine and New Hampshire all send complete suffrage delegation to the House of Representatives, but in Delaware Senator Wolcott is obstructing his state's record for justice, in Maine, Senator Hale, and in New Hampshire Senator Moses. Indiana, with only one man yet to be heard from, is counted on to give a solid delegation in both Houses. The Iowa and Michigan delegations will be solid except, in each case, for one Congressman. The Nebraska delegation is solid except for one Senator. New Jersey and Wisconsin both have a majority in the House, while in each case the Senate delegation is unanimous in favor. West Virginia is unanimous in the Senate and probably will also be in the House. Michigan also is unanimous in the Senate wtih a similar possibility in the House.

Connecticut has a majority in the lower House but both Senators are opposed. Kentucky and Tennessee both have large majorities in the lower House, each with one Senator opposed. New York is almost unanimous in favor, with one Senator, Senator Wadsworth, opposed. Missouri has a large majority in the lower House, being almost unanimous there—and one Senator--Reed—opposed. Ohio has a majority of almost two to one in the lower House, and one Senator—Pomeren—opposed. This is a reversal from the last Congress, when the Ohio delegation in the House cast a two to one vote against. Maryland is half and half in both Houses. The same situation exists in Vermont. With one Congressman yet to be heard from, Florida is still uncertain as to the House, and both Senators are opposed. In Texas both Senators are favorable, and the House situation is uncertain, but regarded as hopeful for a majority. Pennsylvania, whose delegation in the last Congress voted 22 to 12 in favor of the amendment, is counted on for a majority this time. Both Senators are opposed.

Alabama and Louisiana may be the only two solid opposition states in the House of Representatives of the 66th Congress, though there weer five states solidly opposed in the 65th. The North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia House delegations will cast majority opposition votes. Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia Senators are all opposed, while in Georgia one Senator is non-commital, in Louisiana one is favorable and one hopeful, and in South Carolina one is not yet declared.

Massachusetts, which gave a majority against in the last Congress, it is now hoped will cast a majority in favor, though the changed votes will probably come from re-elected rather than new men. There is also a gain in the Senate, where the newly elected Senator Walsh is a suffragist.

THIS, then, is the situation—17, and possibly 18, Western states and one Eastern state, making 19 in all, are solidly in favor of the federal suffrage amendment, according to their representation in Congress. Eighteen states will send delegations in which at least a majority favors federal suffrage. This makes thirty-seven states which will give a majority of their votes to suffrage. Four states are either equally divided as to their delegations, or uncertain. Only six states, all of these Southern Democratic states, are majority opposed. And only two of these are solid.

It does not need the tone of the above statements from Congressmen to convince us that suffrage in the new 66th Congress has a vastly more favorable outlook than did suffrage in the 65th or any previous Congress. Six out of forty-eight states is really a rather small percentage of unenlightenment.

Even the Children

MISS Julia R. Emory, National organizer at present working in Texas, writes us that the advent of the Prison Special in San Antonio, Texas, seems to have made quite an impression on the children of the public schools. She has been speaking to groups of public school teachers at the noon hour, since the Prison Special was in San Antonio, and recently she was told that a whole room full of children, hearing that the teacher had been asked to write to the President, took it into their heads to write to him themselves! The letters were written and sent before anyone knew anything about it. One small boy volunteered a copy of his letter, written in a slightly scrawly hand on "theme paper." It follows:

432 Soledad St.
Feb. 28, 1919
San Antonio

President Woodrow Wilson,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I heard some ladies from Washington said that you don't want to give the women their libety, they said the United States stands for libety and justice for all and there you are not giving them freedom, you have been very unkind to them. You must give them libety like you gave libety to Belgium and France.

Yours truly,
A San Antonio Schoolboy,
Gabriel Garcio,
From Johnson School No. 7.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.
In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate
Favorably September 15, 1917.
Favorably September 17, 1918.

Reported in the House
By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.
By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two- thirds vote.

In the House
Passed January 10, 1918, by one vote.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

The Suffragist

APRIL 12, 1919 VOL. VII. NO. 15

Issued Weekly by National Woman's Party

14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3,1879

The President Cables

AGAIN words—and only words—have come.

"Best wishes, and hopes for the passage of the suffrage amendment," says President Wilson to a group of American women seeking politcal freedom for American women.

WILL the President translate his "wishes and hopes" into definite and decisive action? Or does he still expect the American people to be content with mere words?

The cables that brought to women words expressing wishes and hopes might have brought a call for a special session of Congress if the well-wisher had only wished hard enough.

THE President can do for the federal suffrage amendment what no other one can do. Since March 4 there has rested with him alone the power to call Congress together that it might take action while state legislatures are still in session for ratification, and thus end the delay that places our country in the untenable position of asking for democracy abroad and denying it at home.

He has said no peace can last or deserves to last that is not based on the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. He has said that our country would not only be distrusted in its international relations but would deserve to be distrusted if it failed to enfranchise women with the fullest possible enfranchisement.

AND yet, for more than a month he has failed to do the one thing which he and he alone could do to change the situation holding such grave danger in its bearing upon our country's professions as a democratic nation.

Suffragists "Carry On"

IN all sections of the country the line of advance moves forward. In the west, the north, the east and south, strong hearts "carry on" with a will and determination that should inspire to renewed purpose those who have grown weary in the fight for justice too long delayed.

Deputations which the National Woman's Party is arranging to wait upon the 531 members of Congress in their home cities before the convening of the extra session, are in full swing throughout the country. Women from all parts of the district, or in the case of senators, from all parts of the state, gather in motors decorated with flags and banners, and led in most cases by the state chairman, visit the home or office of the member in question.

Unusual interest centers around the work in Pennsylvania, in view of the plans to hold the Eastern States Conference in Philadelphia on April 26, and the state conference simultaneously. These conferences will focus attention upon the point of most resistance in the next Congress, since it is the eastern and southern men who have proved to be the most stubborn opponents of the suffrage cause.

In Massachusetts, districts are being organized for more effective work upon the Congressmen. Two new district chairmen have already been appointed, these being Mrs. Thomas H. Gray and Mrs. Alice L. W. Movius. Miss Paul, National Chairman, spoke at a meeting of the State Board held at Boston headquarters, when plans were made for the state campaign. Mrs. Agnes Morey and Miss Betty Gram, national organizer, are arranging deputations to congressmen who are daily showing increased interest in the suffrage cause.

In Northern New York active work upon the new congressmen has already been started, and Mrs. Wm. Hutton Blauvelt, Legislative Chairman for Northern New York, will carry it forward unremittingly until every man has been seen. There are eighteen new Congressmen from New York, most of whom have declared their position in favor of the amendment. Mr. Crowther, Congressman-elect from Schenectady, recently was interviewed by Miss Anita Pollitzer, to whom he announced his intention of voting for the amendment, and later confirmed this by letter to Miss Younger. Miss Pollitzer, with Mrs. Will and Mrs. Pierce of Rochester, also saw Congressman Sanders, who voted against the amendment in the last Congress.

To those congressmen who are favorable, the deputations urge that they work in their party caucus or conference to make the suffrage amendment a party issue, and to secure its immediate passage by House and Senate. To those who are non-committal or opposed, the deputations urge that they vote for the amendment, and whenever possible a statement is obtained to that effect.

Adolphus P. Nelson, newly elected representative from Wisconsin, who has been appointed a member of the suffrage committee and will be the only representative on that committee from his section of the country, in a recent interview with Mrs. Bertha Moller, representative of the National Woman's Party, said that he intended to do "everything possible on the suffrage committee for the passage of the amendment as soon as Congress meets."

With the exception of Representative McCrate of New York, who is understood to favor the amendment, but whose position had not been definitely announced at the time The Suffragist goes to press, all the Republican members of the Suffrage Committee are now known to support the amendment and to favor its immediate passage. Representatives Little, of Kansas, and Elliot, of Indiana, were members of the woman suffrage committee in the last Congress and voted for the suffrage amendment, as did Representatives Nolan, of California; Burroughs, of New Hampshire; and Edmunds, of Pennsylvania; new Republican committee members.

As to Mr. Mann, chairman of the suffrage committee, Mr. Mondell, Republican floor leader, said of him recently in connection with the Susan B. Anthony amendment, "He will handle this matter in a quick, thorough and masterful way."

Senator Keyes of New Hampshire

BEFORE the death of Senator Gallinger, New Hampshire had not an anti-suffragist in either house of Congress. His death, however, and the selection of Senator Moses, took away one vote. The other senatorial vote was removed at the expiration in March of the term of Senator Hollis, suffragist. Senator Keyes, who succeeds him, has not yet publicly stated his position, but suffrage lobbyists have hope of him because he has always stood as a progressive force on all questions. They feel too, that as the only new Republican Senator not yet publicly pledged, his position is a marked one, owing to the stand of his Party on the issue and the fact that he was elected after that Party stand was taken.

A state conference was held in Manchester on April 6-7, as the climax to an intensive campaign of street meetings, mass meetings, and deputations to congressmen. A call for the conference, issued by Miss Sally Hovey, State Chairman, was sent to members throughout the state and brought fine response in interest and attendance. Miss Maud Younger, National Lobby Chairman, who has her finger on the pulse of the whole Congressional situation, attended the conference and was one of the speakers at the mass meeting. Mrs. Winfield Shaw and Miss Elsie Hill arranged a deputation to Congressman Wason a few days before the state conference. The Manchester Leader said of this deputation: "The women made a deep impression in Nashua as doers in the cause and not mere talkers." Miss Lucy Burns, of New York; Mrs. Agnes Morey, of Massachusetts; and Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, were speakers at the mass meeting in Manchester, following the state conference. The enthusiasm manifested at the various meetings that have been held in New Hampshire add great confidence to the hope that Senator Keyes will soon declare in favor of the amendment.

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The Preparedness Campaign

WITH the prospect, or at least, the possibility, of an early session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, in view, suffragists must take advantage of the time intervening to wage an intensive preparedness campaign in all the doubtful spots in the country. It must be a nation-wide campaign, concentrating the forces recruited from every state and every county upon those particular strategic points which are most important to the final success of the cause in Congress.

Many states are constructing a state committee to have entire charge of organizing district deputations throughout the state. Such a course of action in each state of the Union will insure thorough and concerted action and the most effective results. In parts of the country where representatives to Congress are known to favor the amendment, the most effective weapon which suffragists can offer for the carrying on of the campaign in the East is money. The Branches throughout the West and the middle West can do their part in the Preparedness drive by having as the objective of their campaign the raising of funds to further the fight at other points.

Everywhere, regardless of other and more special plans, there can be carried out a program of general activities, including conferences under the direction of the various state boards at the state headquarters, and public meetings in all parts of the country. Nothing else is so powerful an influence in keeping alive the importance of the issue and in demonstrating the sentiment of the population as are public mass-meetings and public discussions.

All these things the states themselves can do, and in many sections campaigns planned along these lines have already been inaugurated.

California women are showing that they feel their responsibility as voters, and are lending themselves to the campaign which Miss Vivian Pierce is conducting. A successful meeting was arranged at LaJolla by Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, member of the National Advisory Council, and in San Diego Mrs. Vernon V. Rood is cooperating with Miss Pierce who has held several meetings in that city. Press dispatches show that a strong demand is finding expression throughout the state for a special session of Congress. From San Diego, Miss Pierce goes to Los Angeles and San Francisco, where she will continue her work with the cooperation of local committees.

The West, with the one exception of Senator Borah, is solid in support of the amendment. The middle west gives us a majority in favor. It is in the South, then, and along the Atlantic Coast that the principle pressure must be brought to bear. Perhaps the greatest concentration of effort will need to be along what is called "the eastern strip of opposition," New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Northern New York. These states, along with Texas, and South Carolina are especially important at this time, since they are the most hopeful of change—New Hampshire, because the new Senator Keyes is, so far, the only new Republican Senator who has not declared for the federal amendment; Pennsylvania and Massachusetts because their Congressmen should be more favorable since the election of a Republican House; New York, because it has, since November, 1917, become a suffrage state; South Carolina, because Senator Dial, who succeeds Senator Pollock, a suffragist, has not yet declared his position; Texas, because that state has recently extended primary suffrage to its women.

In Philadelphia, on March 27, a luncheon was given in honor of Miss Paul, at the Roosevelt Hotel, at which $2,000 was raised for the campaign in Pennsylvania, in amounts ranging from $10 each, pledged on behalf of ten laundry workers by Miss Christine Doyle, to $500. Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, and Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, are speaking at numerous points throughout the state, where mass meetings are being held to demand a special session of Congress and arouse interest in the passage of the amendment. Headquarters have been established at the studio of the State Chairman, Miss Ingham, and meetings are held there weekly.

A conference, attended by Miss Paul, was recently held in Syracuse with the District Board and the Legislative chairman for Northern New York, at which plans were made to organize all the northern districts and to have the women use their voting strength to bring further pressure to bear upon their representatives. A meeting was also held at Utica, and the 33d District organized, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Isabella Mott DeAngelis.

The Texas Branch is also organizing congressional districts and plans a state conference for the near future. Deputations to congressmen are the main features of the work, which is going forward quite successfully under the management of Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, State Chairman, and Miss Julia Emory, National Organizer.

While the states are organizing for their own special fields of action, National Headquarters at Washington will concentrate its efforts wherever strength is lacking, and endeavor to impress upon all suffragists that there can be no relaxation until success is a fact.

The Rules Committee

A CLOSE second to the Woman Suffrage Committee, in the interest of suffragists, is the Rules Committee. It fixes the time when a measure may be considered and the period for debate, and otherwise influences the fate of legislation. Suffragists are, therefore, interested in knowing into what sort of hands the amendment will fall after it passes from the Woman Suffrage Committee.

Seven Republicans have been named for this Committee, six of whom are suffragists. They are Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas, Chairman; Bertrand H. Snell, of New York; Wm. A Rodenberg, of Illinois; Porter H. Dale, of Vermont; Royal C. Johnson, of South Dakota; and Thomas D. Schall, of Minnesota. The other Republican member, Aaron S. Kreider, of Pennsylvania, is counted against suffrage.

Of the other five members, four will be Democrats. The third ranking Democrat, James C. Cantrill, of Kentucky, is one of the most active suffragists in the House on the Democratic side. Edward W. Pou, of North Carolina, and Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, voted against the amendment in 1917, as did also the fourth ranking Democrat, Daniel J. Riordan, of New York. In fact, Mr. Riordan has voted against suffrage seventeen times, but he predicts its passage in the next Congress by 30 more votes than last time. It is not known how he stands now. He has been a strong foe, and if he should become a friend, the natural expectation would be that he will not be a half-hearted one.

From this analysis it is assured that there will be a majority of suffragists on the Rules Committee, counting six of the seven Republicans already assigned, and at least one of the ranking Democrats.

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Suffrage "Pressure"

(Reprint from New York Times, March 3)

BY what arts, apart from feminine charm and suasion, by what arguments, what magic, what invisible means the feminists convince or overawe hostile legislators and convert or dragoon them into voting for woman suffrage, has been a mystery that stirred the special wonder of the indurated heads of the less accomplished sex. The sincere believers, the easy opportunists, the politician with an eye single to the votes in every "movement" in his district or his state, are perfectly intelligible; but how about the rhinoceros-hided Representative or Senator who scorns woman suffrage on principle, believes it to be an evil? How do the feminists shoot the arrow of conviction into that impenitent heart?

Dux femina factis, a woman tells how the thing is done. In the Magazine Section of yesterday's Times, Miss Maud Younger, Chairman of the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party and Keeper of its Card Index, bares the secret. It is a thorough card-index system that gives the feminists the moral, mental, social, and political finger-prints of every Representative and Senator. It goes back of his cradle. It is amply documented on his ancestors and his family, his education, religion, occupation. It records even the newspapers that he reads. It tickets his "recreations and hobbies," follows him to the golf field, the club, the lodge. It is a complete record of his life and his votes. A lobbyist, every time she visits a lawmaker, is provided with "a lobby slip" which contains all the entries in his index "record" calculated to enable her to elicit from him the information she seeks. Whatever he says to her is sacredly recorded as part of his "Exact Statement and Remarks." Falcon eyes are watching the poor sumph, although he doesn't know it; and every idle word is set down to be used, if necessary, in judgment against him.

Does he weakly say that he doesn't think his district is much interested in woman suffrage because he gets few letters in favor of it from his constituents? The sisters of the all-knowing index soon show him he is mistaken. At once telegrams and letters crying for woman suffrage are made to rain upon him from his district. To the utmost extent possible, friends, acquaintances, fellows of the club and lodge, are drawn upon for this education by correspondence. How successful it is by mere weight of iteration and weariness may be judged from Miss Younger's story of a Congressman so submerged by telegrams and letters that he agreed to vote for the suffrage amendment if the openers of the floodgates would shut them. His "office force" was busy all day answering. He wasn't convinced, but he wanted to abate an intolerable nuisance.

The subtle searchers of the index rely upon that talisman to subdue a Representative or Senator by means of his "financial backer," if he has one. Let Miss Younger repeat her artless tale:

> Only the other day we won over the financial backer of a Senator who had been opposed to the amendment. He has become convinced that the future of the Senator depends on his becoming a supporter of woman suffrage. He has promised to write to the Senator, and we expect a change in the Senator's vote the next time the amendment comes up. Twenty-two Senators have changed their position in favor of suffrage since I came to Washington, [in 1916.]

These are methods of severe intellectual and moral conversion, worthy of a reform pursued with so much wisdom, sanity, good temper, and fairness. If Numbers 17 and 18 of the index "are devoted to health and habits"; if liberal shepherds of the anti-suffrage fold might be tempted to give a coarser name to ways and possibilities of enforced conversion lurking in those perilous cubbyholes, the right-minded know instinctively that a natural, harmless feminine curiosity, combined with the sociological and card-index habits characteristic of an enlightened age, has inspired these collections, so valuable to future students of twentieth century private life. Miss Younger's explanation, though she needed to make none, must disarm suspicion and malice. Asked why the suffragists want to know the character and habits of Congressmen, she made this candid and convincing reply:

> For several reasons. For example, some Congressmen get to their offices early; one that I know at 7:30 and this is often the best time to see him. Then, if a member is a drinking man, we want to know that. One of our lobbyists may go to him and not know what is the matter with him.

Exactly. The "lobby" is but the vestibule of the Temple of Good Fame, and a wise Congressman will not be slow to enter. "Our expenses "in Washington this year will be $100,000." Apart from moral ecstasy and intellectual illumination, the index information alone must be worth more than that beggarly sum.

Women in the 1920 Election

THE twenty-six states in which women now have Presidential suffrage control forty per cent of the electoral college, over half of the Senate, forty-five per cent of the House, and almost half the votes in the party conventions.

Full Suffrage

	Granted
Wyoming	1869
Colorado	1893
Utah	1896
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Kansas	1912
Arizona	1912
Oregon	1912
Alaska	1913
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Michigan	1918
Oklahoma	1918
South Dakota	1918

Presidential

(Those * have municipal also)

	Granted
Illinois*	1913
Nebraska*	1917
Rhode Island	1917
North Dakota*	1917
Vermont*	1919
Wisconsin*	1919
Indiana*	1919
Maine	1919
Minnesota	1919
Missouri	1919

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Comments of the Press

The Unthinkable Has Happened

INCARCERATION in narrow cells, upon flimsy accusations, without legal basis; humiliation before a half sympathetic and half jeering multitude; placed in irons and chained to prison doors; subjected to methods of torture that left the helpless victims faint and bleeding; left in solitary confinement, where rats and vermin added to the terrors of darkness. This has been the fate of two score of refined, intellectual and earnest women of American birth and parentage, whose only offense consisted of a peaceful and orderly protest against the injustice of depriving them of the right of suffrage, which has been accorded in every other nation where the Anglo-Saxon predominates.

And this unspeakable outrage occurred in the city of Washington, the capital of our country, and in the face of the lack of a single vote necessary to bring about a realization of their hopes.

And with the knowledge and concurrence of the constituted authorities who direct our national activities. In face of the fact that but one vote was necessary to set the seal of national approval of the cause to which they had consecrated themselves, these earnest and devoted women were treated like criminals and subjected to indignities which should bring the blush of shame to everyone who retains a sense of fair play or common decency.

It is not necessary to voice either approval or disapproval of the methods adopted by these women in order to further their cause, so long as their cause may be considered just and no overt act of violence or depredation was committed by them. They had a precedent for their action recorded in Holy Writ, when, we are told, a band of enthusiasts armed only with rams' horns marched peacefully around the city of Jericho and caused its walls to fall. Such a proceeding, no doubt, was looked upon as absurd and ridiculous, but it is recorded that the walls fell. And in the case of these latter-day crusaders, the walls of prejudice are about to tumble about the ears of those who have so long withheld from women the privileges to which they are entitled.

The Prison Special, bearing the devoted apostles who survived the horrors of Occoquan, is carrying the message to the country of their martyrdom and enlisting the hearty support of their countrymen and women in the enforcement of the righteous demand for the adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. —*Seymour's Snappy Stuff, Vol. 1, No. 3*

The "Prison Special"

TONIGHT'S suffrage meeting at Carnegie Hall will be, or should be, more than ordinarily interesting. It is the wind-up of the coast-to-coast tour of the "Prison Special," which, carrying twenty-six White House picketers who have served one or more terms for their activities in Washington in the cause of the federal suffrage amendment, ends its long run today.

No one has to agree with the methods of these "martyrs" to admire their pluck and determination. Some things which have been done at Washington by them have not received public approval, some have been roundly condemned, but in the main it is probable the public has not looked with disfavor upon their campaign covering many months. The average person recognizes that only by keeping everlastingly at it can anything of consequence be achieved, and certainly the squad of suffragists, recruited from many states, which has maintained a ceaseless battle to induce Congress to adopt the resolution, has shrunk from no hardship.

And, shrewdly capitalizing their experiences in and out of jail, they hired a special train to enable them to carry their warfare where it might do more good than the Washington vigil.—*Brooklyn, New York, Standard Union, March 10.*

A Woman's Political Headquarters

THE looker-on could not help ponder on the changes an acceptance of the Anthony amendment would bring into politics.

While at the headquarters of the National Woman's Party he was amused to see the workers greeted by a sweet kiss when they arrived to take up their labors for the cause." And instead of the paper scattered on the floor so common to men's political headquar- he viewed a neat room with well-filled waste-baskets. And not a single woman had failed to hit the mark. There was no ill-ventilated smoke-filled room, but a well-aired apartment furnished in quaint antique fashion.—*Boston, Mass., Record, March 6, 1919.*

Hail!

HEADLINE: "Suffs will 'Hail' Wilson at Pier." The sort of hail that goes along with the winter of our discontent?—*Columbia, South Carolina, State, February 22.*

A Fundamental Responsibility

THE fundamental responsibility in a democracy is suffrage. That is the only way the unofficial citizen can take part in government. Our women are mistaken in demanding suffrage as a right or as a privilege. It is neither. It is a responsibility, and that is the reason Southern men have hesitated to place it upon them. They have regarded it as a burden they must bear. In bearing it they grew strong and free, but they weakened their women. Woman invested with this responsibility will have a sense of strength and freedom she has lacked. And she will grow. The same logic applies in another direction which need not be mentioned now.—*Greenville News, Greenville, South Carolina, February 27.*

The Willful Twenty-Nine

SENATOR Wadsworth, of New York, said that he would not vote for equal suffrage even if the New York legislature requested him to. His conscience would not let him. He would not be a party to spreading the curse of equality to other states, even though it is inextricably fastened upon New York state. Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, in all his senatorial career, has never by any chance voted for a liberal or progressive measure that he could possibly evade. He is one of those senators who believe in keeping out of trouble, and with him keeping out of trouble means avoiding pernicious modern doctrines as equal suffrage, the rights of child laborers, etc.

Senators Penrose, Weeks, Lodge, Hale and most of the senators from that part of the United States where the federal constitution is regularly defied at every election, are equally comprehensible. But this does not include all the twenty-nine senators who voted not to submit the suffrage amendment. All of them are of at least normal intelligence. All of them have, or have had, mothers. Most of them have wives. They meet and talk with women every day of their lives. Do these meetings invariably reconvince them of the ineffable political superiority of the male over the female? Do they grow more certain as they grow older that the Almighty put a kind of brain into a woman's head that makes her incapable of holding office or voting intelligently, but which allows her to conduct business and professions with success that can be measured definitely in money? What do they think when they hear that women have penetrated practically every trade and profession now being practiced in this country? What do they think when they learn that women are beginning to be eminently successful as trade union organizers?

Or is it an absurdity to ask what they think about anything? Perhaps they only feel. Feelings are more satisfactory than thoughts, for one cannot be argued out of them. Let a man once submit to argue during times like these and no opinion is safe.—*San Francisco Call, February 19.*

The Flag Behind Bars

THE spectacle of the American flag behind the bars of a cell has aroused a storm of protest. But Miss Katherine A. Morey, who carreid the flag in the demonstration on Wilson Day, is undisturbed. "The flag reminds us that there is such a thing as liberty," said Miss Morey, "and I'm going to cling to it till they take it from me by force."—*Boston, Mass., Traveller, February, 28.*

Treasurer's Report

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Total Collected by National Headquarters	853.31
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	415,469.84
Total collected by National Headquarters through April 2, 1919	416,323.15

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	1,554.00

Total collected by Branches	1,763.75
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	78,850.17
Total collected by Branches through April 2, 1919	80,613.92
Grand Total	496,937.07
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,933.50
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